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International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union
(ILGWU)

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Justice (Vol. 6, Iss. 16)

International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU)

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Comments

Justice was the official publication of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union ILGWU from 1919 to 1995. Editions of *Justice* were published in English, Italian, Spanish, and Yiddish. When compared side by side, the content of some of these different editions of *Justice* shows significant differences. This is the English-language edition of *Justice*.

"My righteousness I hold fast, and will not let it go."

—Job 27.6

JUSTICE

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION

"Workers of the world unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains."

Vol. VI, No. 16.

New York, Friday, April 11, 1924.

Price 2 Cents

IF MAN ONLY WILLED

There is nothing within natural limitations, within the physically and spiritually possible, that man could not achieve, if man only wanted it badly enough.

Yet, it is the power to will that the ordinary human being lacks more than anything else. Not because, as some would have it, there is no such thing as will power. Will power exists, and is mightily pronounced in some individuals. But among the great majority of our fellow men—and women—this precious trait seems to be as non-existent as the proverbial dodo. As if by some natural process this will power has been slowly and surely done to extinction.

First among the executors of will power come our more or less ignorant parents. They do it, of course, without ill intent but, nevertheless, very thoroughly, even though with the laudable purpose of "benefitting" the tiny creature in their care and trust.

Next comes the school teacher, after the child has been turned over to his guidance and tutoring for the better part of the day. It is notorious that the major principle in our school education consists in finding and practicing methods that tend to crush the will power and the initiative of the child.

And what little will power the parent and the teacher have overlooked in weeding out of the child's mentality, life, the harsh battle of everyday life of the everyday man takes care of. The very fact that, in order to exist, he must hitch himself out to others, means for the newcomer into our game of living the obliteration of the residue of his will power. The term "boss," as applied to his employer, seldom fails to impress upon him in the shop or the office that he or she is not to have a will of his or her own if they mean to stay.

And thus it comes about that the "man in the street" is to all intents and purposes little more than an automaton, a machine propelled by the will power of some other person. Worst of all—the ordinary fellow hardly himself realizes this. He even frequently manages to persuade himself that in whatever he does or fails to do he is actuated by his own will.

It is upon this appalling absence of will power and ignorance that our whole edifice of semi-slavery is reared. In social system where will power is a rarity and not possessed by the common people, slavery must exist even if they are themselves conscious of it. Still greater is their bondage under circumstances when they are made to believe, or would themselves believe, that they are freemen and that they live the lives of freemen.

The absence of will power among the great mass of mankind is the chief obstacle in the way of that new, free and beautiful life of which so many dream but very few have the will to achieve. Yes, there are other hindrances, but given the will, they all could be put out of the way. We should have despaired of humanity's future were this otherwise. The undeniable fact remains that by sheer force of will what seems insurmountable may be removed from the path of human progress. The history of our steady, slow advance bears evidence to that.

There are no dangers that the undaunted will of man will shrink before, not even the greatest danger of all—loss of life. Stronger than death is the will of man, and it is the reason why revolutionary epochs are of such tremendous significance in the summary of our progress. In times of revolution, the submerged person of the mass behaves as if he never was kept in bondage; he becomes capable of achieving things he never would dare dream of in "normal" times. The nervous, the coward, is transformed into a hero and helps in the making of history. Then institutions erstwhile unconquerable crumble like houses of cards and the will power of mankind finds its full expression.

Unfortunately, the awakening of the human will lasts only for a short while. Soon, very soon, reaction sets in and the man of the mass again loses his will. The hero of the moment again becomes the coward of yore. Then the individuals who still retain their force intact return to impose their will upon the rest of humanity and the old order is back to life again.

It should be clear to those who hate our hateful social order that the primal and foremost task of the men and women who battle for a new deal and a new world is to develop as far as possible the will power of the great mass. Not to act for them, but to make them act for themselves, to stir their initiative powers, to encourage them to independent action. They might make mistakes, true. But by their errors they will learn and will grow stronger and become aware of their own power. Then they will learn, too, how to coordinate their lives and the world they live in as it will suit them best.

It is this lack of confidence in his own strength on the part of the average man, of his deplorable underestimation of himself and his fellow human beings, upon which our order of inhumanity and exploitation rests.

Job!

Will Take Place . . . Thursday—Conference With American Association . . . Wednesday—Answer From Protective Association to Be Received in a Few Days

On Friday evening, April 4, the board of directors of the Merchants Ladies' Garment Association, the cloak jobbers' body, had a special meeting at the Hotel Pennsylvania. At that meeting the leaders of the cloak jobbers of New York gave full consideration to the demands which the International and the Joint Board of the Cloak and Dressmakers' Union recently presented to them. Each of the points on the Union's program was studied separately by the directors before they framed their reply.

The board of directors of the jobbers' association decided to make their reply to the Union in the same manner as the demands were presented to them, namely, at a conference at which the full committees from both sides would be present. They accordingly instructed their attorney, Mr. Samuel Blumberg, to arrange for a second conference with the Union, if possible, for Thursday evening, April 10.

The leaders of the jobbers' association decided meanwhile not to make their reply public, though it is stated that it has been fully prepared. They

intend to make its contents known first to the conferences of both sides at the forthcoming meeting.

Trade circles are awaiting this reply with considerable eagerness. Rumor has it that the jobbers' answer to the Union is framed in a belligerent mood, but, of course, it is best to withhold judgment until the reply is announced.

Last Wednesday, April 9, the full conference committee of the Union also held a conference with the American Cloak and Suit Manufacturers' Association, the organization of the sub-manufacturers, and contractors in the cloak trade. The Union presented to the members of the American Association a number of demands to be embodied in the new agreement between the Union and the Association. Further conferences with the contractors' association were turned over to sub-committees from each side.

No reply has been received as yet from the Protective Association, though it is expected that an answer will be forthcoming in the course of the next few days.

G. E. B. Holds Important Sessions

Biennial Report of G. E. B. to Be Read and Approved—
Convention Arrangement Committee to Submit Account
—Pending and Settled Strikes Up for Discussion—
Last Meeting Before Boston Convention—
Sessions Held in New York City.

The eighth quarterly meeting of the General Executive Board of our International, the final meeting before the expiration of the present administrative term, began last Tuesday morning, April 8, in New York City at the Hotel Martinique. The following day the meeting was transferred, however, to the Council Room of our International Building.

The meeting is being held in New York owing in a large measure to the fact that the conferences which are being held with the various cloak employers' organizations in New York City at present have made it impossible for our principal officers to leave New York for another city.

This meeting of the General Executive Board is of exceptional importance. The Board is to make final arrangements for the convention. A credential committee is to be elected which as a rule begins its work about ten days before the convention, to pass upon the eligibility of the delegates elected by the various locals, and to draw up a report on it. In ad-

dition to convention questions, the meeting will also handle a number of regular organization problems which must be taken care of at once. One of the principal tasks of this final quarterly meeting will be the reading of the biennial report of the General Executive Board to the convention, which is to be issued in book form and mailed to the delegates. This report contains a summary of the life and activity of our International Union for the last two years between the Cleveland convention and the one that is to take place in Boston. It is a very important document requiring careful compilation and the General Executive Board is so busy on it before it is published in final shape.

The General Executive Board will also receive at this meeting several reports on the strikes in which our International Union has been engaged during the last few months, notably those in the Boston and Chicago dress trades, and the strike of the tuckers and novelty workers in New York City. The General Executive Board will also receive a number of communications from locals and individual members of the Union who come before it with special requests and appeals.

All Other Union and Trade News on Page Two

N. Y. Joint Board Gives \$10,000 to Chicago Strikers

President Sigman Returns to New York—What Happened During Last Week in the Chicago Strike—Judge Sullivan Keeps Up His Anti-Labor Record.

President Morris Sigman returned last Saturday from Chicago where he spent a few days in consultation with Vice-president Meyer Perlestein and the strike committee of the Union. He addressed a meeting of the strikers on Thursday, April 3, and was received with great enthusiasm. He pointed out to the workers on strike that their bosses are spending huge sums of money to defeat the strikers by sheer physical intimidation and appealed to them not to pay any attention to misleading and lying statements that are circulated by the manufacturers and their agents to break down the spirit of the strikers. He was followed by Brother Perlestein who delivered an inspiring talk.

On Saturday, April 5, the Chicago dress strikers received a check of ten thousand dollars from the Joint Board of the Cloak and Dressmakers' Unions of New York, as a contribution towards the strike fund.

This is the second substantial contribution sent from New York to the Chicago strikers, the first being a check for five thousand dollars forwarded a week ago by the dressmakers of Local 22. The contribution was very warmly received by the strikers who see in it a tangible sign of the solidarity of our workers and their fast resolve to help the Chicago workers in their hour of need.

Meanwhile the court and police persecution against the strikers continues in full blast. Judge Sullivan is daily imposing huge fines upon every worker brought before him charged with alleged violations of any of the numerous clauses of his sweeping injunction granted to the employers.

Some of them have been fined as high as \$200 apiece and it can be easily imagined what a drain these fines are on the Union's treasury.

On Saturday, April 5, a young Negro girl striker stirred very deeply the ire of this judge because she dared to state to him in unflinching terms the reasons why she came out on strike in the defense of the working girls of her own race who are being exploited in the dress shops in Chicago.

The girl striker was arrested in front of a shop in Market street for picketing. "Why did you go to picket at 312 Market street if you are striking in another shop?" the lawyer for the employer asked her sharply.

"Because there are Negro girls working there while the shop is on strike," she replied calmly.

"But what business is that of yours?" the lawyer retorted angrily.

"They are members of my race and they are dragging it down by such action," the girl continued calmly.

"What did you tell those workers?" the lawyer asked again.

Reunion of Students and Instructors an Inspiring Affair

It was a delightful sight to view the gathering of about five hundred men and women, young and old, members of our International Union, who assembled in the dining-room of the Washington Irving High School to celebrate the progress of Workers' Education in this country. It was a reunion of the past and present students who attend our numerous classes and lectures and of their instructors. They were all animated

"I advised them not to continue working there in time of a strike for better wages and more decent work conditions."

"Will you go there to picket again?" "As a striker it is my duty to picket."

This answer sealed the verdict. Judge Sullivan admonished Attorney Sigman, who appeared for the Union, on the behavior of the Negro girl striker and imposed a fine of \$200 and fifteen days in the workhouse.

The Committee of Fifteen elected by the Chicago Federation of Labor to investigate the activities of State's Attorney Crowe on behalf of the dress strike employers issued a long report condemning in no uncertain terms the conduct of this public official and the subservient and loyal assistance he has been rendering in this strike to the strike firms.

The report says that he actually turned over his office to the employers' association and their attorney Dudley E. Taylor, and that since the strike broke out, he practically neglected every other function of his office which is supposed to suppress and punish crime in the County, in his eagerness to help the strike bosses.

INTERNATIONAL CALENDAR

By H. SCHOOLMAN

This Week Twenty Years Ago

The Joint Board of Cloakmakers, of New York, decides to take part in the May Day parade. The New Post publishes a call to all the members to take part in the demonstration. It is estimated that about 40,000 members of the Cloakmakers' Union will march in the parade.

After the settlement of the strike in the factory of Sieppin & Co. Philadelphia, two Italian strikers who had individual agreements with the firm were left in the shop. Two weeks after the strike, these strikers had an argument and stabbed one another, with the result that one was taken to the hospital and the other to prison.

lected every other function of his office which is supposed to suppress and punish crime in the County, in his eagerness to help the strike bosses. He pursued the same policy, the report points out, during the strike of the building trades and during the upholsterers' strike, serving as faithfully as he could the interest of the employers. The report condemns Crowe as one of the worst enemies the workers of Chicago had known and contains a mass of facts to substantiate these charges.

Local 62, White Goods Workers, Elects Officers

The White Goods Workers, Local 62, held an election for officers on March 27. They voted for a manager, a business agent, a secretary-treasurer and an executive board, and also for six delegates to the International convention.

As customary, the handful of lefts in the local were very busy, printing the officers of the Union in charged circulars with most every crime under the sun, including the existing unemployment in the trade. Two days before the election, they distributed in the shops a regular slate of their candidates which they styled "progressive," pleading that they be elected instead of the regular candidates of the organization. The members of

Local 62, however, know who is concealed under this fine-sounding name "progressive" and so they voted as their own good sense and conscience dictated to them. As a result the following were elected:

Manager, A. Snyder; business agent, M. Seitz; secretary, Mollie Lifshutz; executive board, Bessie Abramovitch, Fannie Bremer, Sadie Cohen, Bessie Helfant, Jennie Kruglich, Florence Kaplan, Pauline Levine, Rose Lieberman, Yetta Molofsky, Jessie Maloff, Jennie Miller, Esther Popovitch, Mollie Rosenberg, Charlotte Rottenberg, Tillie Taylor, Esther Wiener; conference delegates, Fannie Bremer, Sophie Dachman, Yetta Molofsky, Fannie Shapiro, Abraham Snyder, Morris Seitz.

Dressmaker Locals Elect Convention Delegates

On Thursday, April 3, Local 22, the New York Dressmakers' Union, had elections for delegates to the International Convention in Boston.

The local is entitled to twelve delegates, and the following were selected to represent it:

Sam Prisant, Abraham Staun, Israel Horowitz, Abraham Bernstein, Morris Schonholtz, Isidore Bushkin, Max Bluskin, Hyman Greenberg, Dave Backer, Chas. Margolis, Mollie Friedman, Joe Shapiro, Mary Avrutsky, Joe Rabinowitz.

Brother Louis Antonini, secretary

of Local 89, the Italian Dressmakers' Union, informs us that that local had an election for executive board members last week in which 961 members voted, an unusually large number for a local election. Secretary Antonini, as candidate for reelection, received 776 votes, with only 17 voting against him. Executive board members received the following ranging from 852 to 510. The following were elected:

The following were elected as delegates to the International convention: L. Antonini, J. Cablati, G. Di Nola, C. Indolfi, P. Liberti, O. Grassi, J. Ezrto, A. Barone, S. Milazzo.

by the feeling that the experiment carried on by our International Union was crowned with success.

In the short addresses of officers of our union, instructors and students, there was one note sounded,—that the impossible, as many considered it, has happened. And all of them as one voiced the sentiment that our International Union had the vision to make an experiment, the results of which have not only been approved by the Labor movement, but have led American Labor to endorse it.

There were representatives present from almost every local union of our International. There were members of executive boards, officers of local unions, shop chairmen and some of them came with their families. Through their presence, hundreds of our members expressed their approval of the educational activities carried on by our International Union. They showed this in their addresses as well as in private conversations. They took pride in the fact that they as

citizens of our International Union had contributed to this great achievement financially and morally.

Samuel Young, member of Local 10, a secretary of the County Students' Council, opened the meeting and introduced Fannie M. Cohn, executive secretary of the Education Department, as chairman of the evening.

The chairman in her opening address explained the significance of the reunion saying:

"This marks the end of seven fruitful years of educational activities of our International Union and the beginning of the eighth year of still greater achievements. It has been continued by saying, 'that now when our International Union is celebrating its twenty-fifth anniversary, its large membership takes pride in the many great achievements which it has accomplished for its members and for the Labor movement in general. We point proudly to the one additional achievement, which is of great importance.'"

(Continued on Page 10.)

Joint Board Tenders Banquet to Phillip Kaplowitz

Brother Phillip Kaplowitz was the secretary-treasurer of the Joint Board of the Cloak and Dressmakers' Unions for over ten years. During this period, he has handled millions of the union treasury and under his administration the finances of the Union were always in the best possible shape.

Brother Kaplowitz is now cashier of the International Union Bank, and the Joint Board decided to express to him publicly its recognition at a banquet. This affair took place last Sunday evening at Manhattan Lyceum, 66 East 41st street. The banquet was attended by representatives of all locals affiliated with the Joint Board, as well as a number of guests. Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, happened to be in town last Saturday and accepted the invitation to attend the banquet.

Israel Feinberg, manager of the Joint Board, was toastmaster, and speeches were made by President Gompers, President Sigman, Morris

Hillquit, Meyer London, Max Feinstein of the United Hebrew Trades, and Phillip Kaplowitz.

President Gompers spoke of the idealism which our young men look for and find in the Labor movement. He also spoke of the importance of labor banks, while emphasizing that the trade union is paramount to all and that the men and women in the Labor movement must give their attention primarily to the trade union.

Morris Hillquit mentioned the big part Kaplowitz had played in the celebrated murder trial of the cloakmakers a number of years ago in helping the forces of the defense of the unjustly accused men. He also dwelt on the importance and the great future of labor banking in America. President Sigman pointed out Kaplowitz's ability and his unflinching loyalty to the organization.

Brother Kaplowitz was presented with a loving cup by the officers of the Joint Board.

The Union Health Center— What Next?

By DR. GEORGE M. PRICE

The affair on Saturday, March 29, for the benefit of the Union Health Center has just passed successfully, due to the strenuous efforts of our chairman, Harry Wander, and of those who have so ably assisted him. There is a proposition now that this affair should be made an annual event—a project which will be discussed by the Board of Directors at their next meeting.

The main problem, however, is not to raise a few thousand dollars to meet the probable deficit in the Medical Department, but rather how to make the Union Health Center itself an integral part of the Union organization, a more potent institution for the service of the members, and a greater help to those who so badly need its service.

Is the Union Health Center, as it is at present constituted, of greatest benefit to the greatest of members? Is it not a fact that of the 50,000 members of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union in New

York, only about 5,000 avail themselves annually of the services of this institution? Why do not the other 45,000 look for its services? Why is not our X-ray service, with its two, three and five dollar rates, busy every day, in view of the fact that we daily hear of members of the Union paying from twenty-five to seventy-five dollars for X-rays? Why do they pay these enormous sums when they can have them for a nominal sum in our institutions? Is it a matter of publicity and because many of the members do not know of the existence of the Union Health Center, or is it for some other reason?

Here we touch the question of publicity. Isn't it a fact that not all our members know of the existence and the work of the Health Center? How are we to go about spreading the knowledge of the existence and the service of this institution? There is another question which is important, and that is,—is the present system of pay clinics solved and can we hope for a larger expan-

sion of our work with a system which compels each member coming for examination and treatment to pay on dollar each time he comes to the clinic? A great many of our patients complain that it is hard, and sometimes impossible for them to pay the dollar, which does not mean a single cent but perhaps several dollars a week and more, if they have at the same time to go to the specialists or require some baking, electric treatment, etc.

Again, we have not yet solved the problem of our consumptives. We still send them away to boarding-houses in Liberty, N. Y., a procedure which does very little good to the patients and does not tend to improve their health radically. Is it not time for us to have a place of our own or at least make arrangements so that our poor consumptives should have decent medical treatment when they are sick?

Another matter which requires attention is the availability of a number of hospital beds to which we can send our acutely diseased patients or members, whom we so often see in the clinic and for whom we can hardly do anything except send them from one hospital to another, until finally they find a place—but, mostly, they don't. Would it not be a great thing for our membership if we had available a half-dozen or a dozen beds in Beth Israel or Mount Sinai Hospitals, which could be controlled by the

Health Center, and where we could send these patients who need operative and hospital treatment?

These are some of the problems which are before the Board of Directors and before the membership and we should like to discuss and to solve the problems involved if possible.

As a part of the discussion of the problems connected with the work of the Union Health Center would be involved the health insurance scheme, which I proposed several years ago, and which is still far from being advanced. To me, it seems self-evident that it would be much easier to conduct the Union Health Center on a health insurance basis than on the pay clinic basis as at present. By the health insurance basis, I mean that the members of the nine local connected with the Health Center should be taxed a sum of approximately three dollars per annum for which they would get: (1) an annual physical examination of the whole membership; (2) examination and treatment whenever desired or needed in the office, in the general clinics; and (3) examination and treatment whenever needed at home for the members only, and for their families by special arrangement.

The health problems of the workers in our industry assume greater importance every year and it is about time for the membership to take them up seriously and try to solve the problems involved.

In Local 38

By B. DRAŠIN

The elections for delegates to the International Convention are over, and the following members were chosen: Barnett Chazanov, Gedalia Shuchman, Fugist Internodati, Don Wisniewsky.

About half our membership answered our election call. This can be taken as a very good sign. It proves that our membership understood the importance of this election, and the office feels satisfied with such a response. Let us hope that our delegates will stand the test and will convey to the Convention a favorable impression of the needs of our local, and aid the convention in deciding matter of importance to the International as a whole.

A special committee composed of members from the local and branch meetings and the Executive Board are working out resolutions and instructions for our delegates in order to guide them in expressing the will and sentiment of our membership, so that this shall really be the voice of the people. To carry this out a special general members' meeting will be called at which these resolutions and suggestions will be presented for approval.

As to the general conditions in the trade I am glad to say that we are having a good season this year. All our tailors are at work and we have succeeded in placing many members of other locals in our shops. This will prove to the so-called local patriots who, when our members try to obtain a temporary position, prevent them from working in those shops, that there is much to be said in reference to this matter. We have on record at the present time quite a number of members from other locals who are working in our shops, and more than that, were supplied with these jobs by our office, and are working unmo-
lested.

For the last few weeks the office has undertaken the work of putting some shops in good union shape. On account of the few poor seasons in the trade some employers have become lax and taken advantage of the situation by doing away with some Union rules. We find that now is the

time for us to enforce these conditions in the shops and our work in this line has met with only good results. For example let me mention one more or less important shop, Charles & Ray. Every one in the ladies tailors' trade knows that for the last few years this firm frequently ignored union conditions guaranteed by our agreement. We took the workers down and, after keeping them at the office for 2½ days, the firm finally gave in to the demands and gave a cash security as a guarantee that they will not violate any union conditions.

Some organization work is also being done by the office. As the result of a strike at Harry Lichtenstein, 3 East 48th street, after three days the firm realized the futility of their actions and signed an agreement recognizing the Union and union conditions. At the present time there are some more shops to be tackled. The Executive Board, realizing the hardship and impossibility for one man to do all the routine work and still do organization work, decided to take in temporary help for a few weeks in order to utilize this season in which to do organization work. Brother Wilkes was put in office as temporary organizer for our local.

Claims for reinstatement of discharged workers and collection of back pay for our members have all met with success. About this and other office business I shall not take up space in this column as a report of these matters is submitted in full to our regular local meetings. The next such meeting will take place Tuesday, April 15, at Harlem Socialist Center, 62 East 166th street, at 8 p. m. sharp.

DANCE OF LOCAL 90

On April 30, 1924, Local 90; the Custom Dressmakers' Union will have its annual Mayflower Dance—for its own members as well as for the members of other locals of our Union. They expect to meet there, as they do every year, hosts of friends from the labor movement of New York City in addition to all the members and their personal friends. Remember, it is April 30, at Parkview Palace, 3 West 110th street.

Unanimous Vote Upholds No Night Work Law

On March 10, by unanimous vote, the Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of the New York Law prohibiting the labor of women in restaurants between 10 p. m. and 6 a. m. Justice Sutherland delivered the opinion of the court.

Those who opposed the no night-work law attacked it on two grounds, first, that it interfered with the right of contract (Fourteenth Amendment), and secondly, that as it applied to first and second class cities only, and not to the women employed as singers and performers in these restaurants, nor to the women employees in the hotel restaurants of these cities, the law did not give equal protection, but made unreasonable and arbitrary classifications. Both these contentions have been denied in the successive hearings of the case, and in five courts, from the Buffalo City Court up through the Supreme Court, the law has been upheld.

The language of the Supreme Court is unmistakable:

"The basis of the first contention is that the statute unduly and arbitrarily interferes with the liberty of two adult persons to make a contract of employment for themselves. The answer of the State is that night work of the kind prohibited so injuriously affects the physical condition of women, and so threatens to impair their pecuniary and natural functions, that it exposes them to the dangers and penalties incident to night life in large cities, that a statute prohibiting such work falls within the police power of the State to preserve and promote the public health and welfare.

"We cannot say that this conclusion is without warrant. . . . Testimony

was given upon the trial to the effect that the night work in question was not harmful; but we do not find it convincing.

"Where the constitutional validity of a statute depends upon the existence of facts, courts must be cautious about reaching a conclusion respecting them contrary to that reached by the Legislature; and if the question of what the facts establish be a fairly debatable one, it is not permissible for the judge to set up his opinion in respect to it against the opinion of the lawmaker." Would that Justice Sutherland had followed this principle in the minimum wage case last April!

Regarding the second contention of the opponents of the law the Court says: "Nor is the statute vulnerable to the objection that it constitutes a denial of equal protection of the law. . . . The legislative prohibition to labor of the first and second class does not bring about an unreasonable and arbitrary classification. . . . The Legislature is not bound, in order to support the constitutional validity of its regulation, to extend it to all cases which it might possibly reach."

To many of us the distinction which Justice Sutherland makes now, and which a year ago nullified the Minimum Wage law of the District of Columbia, between laws regulating hours and laws regulating wages does not seem valid. But for the present this distinction exists—interference with the service which can be asked, namely the hours of labor, is not interference with the right of contract, while interference with the wage paid is—Consumers' League Bulletin.

JUSTICE

A Labor Weekly

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MORRIS SIGMAN, President.

A. BAROFF, Secretary-Treasurer. H. A. SCHOOLMAN, Business Manager,
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Paris—the Center of the World's Reaction

(Travel Impressions—Special to JUSTICE)

By DR. J. L. KISSMAN

In the good old days, a European trip may have been interesting, instructive or pleasant—or, to a degree, a combination of the three. Since the War, the pleasure feature has been entirely eliminated from European travel, but in interest and in opportunity to learn, Europe today presents to the American traveler greater chances than ever.

As a matter of fact, one begins his studies in Europe before he sets his foot upon the first railroad train immediately upon landing from the steamer. One must find his way through the new mysterious political geography if one is to make any headway through the maze of consulate visas and stamps that will decorate the blank pages of one's American passport before he is through with his journey. One must also become familiar with the new post-war currency systems that have been brought into circulation in Europe and learn which of them amount to something and which are worthless except in their own corners, if one is not to fritter away his hard-earned American dollars for multicolored continental currency scrap. And in return for his trouble and substantial fees, and for the privilege of breathing the moist or less free air in each of these dozen or so kingdoms, cities, public and principalities erected by the war treaties, the American traveler secures for each and every page of his passport an impressive-looking stamp, adorned with special national colors and bright insignia.

Woe unto him who starts out on a trans-continental journey in Europe with inadequate political or financial preparations! If he pays for his breakfast in the dining-car in Roumanian leys, he must have in mind that he might by noon-time have to pay for his luncheon in several million Polish marks and an equally imposing number of Czech-Slovakian kronas for his dinner. And, as things may happen, he might be called upon to pay for his cup of tea before retiring in billions of German marks. If, in the course of his travels, he is compelled to change from one train to another and is confronted with numerous porters, carriers and "help" of a similar kind, he must be stocked up with "national money" of all descriptions. He must bear in mind that the Czech-Slovakian porter, prompted by patriotic pride, will haughtily refuse Roumanian leys, and that the Polish baggage-carrier will just as proudly resent being paid in Czech kronas. Of course, one can help himself with American currency everywhere, but one has to pay heavily for a luxury, as it is so difficult to follow the fluctuation of currency rates and the benefit of the doubt in these cases is seldom given to the traveler.

Still worse is the difficulty of traveling across Europe when one is not up to the minute on matters of political geography. Upon returning to Paris from Germany, the writer of these lines had forgotten that part of Germany is occupied not only by Frenchmen but by Belgians. For this unpardonable error in modern political geography, he was punished with an arrest by a Belgian gendarme and sent back about 100 miles into the interior of Germany, to appear before the Belgian consul and to have his passport vised before enacting to go farther. The only compensation received for this disgusting treatment was that an opportunity was thus afforded as to visit that old German city, Aachen, with its wonderful cathedrals and medieval castles. In this manner, we were cast and carried from one little agony to another.

until we finally arrived at Paris, and later on, London.

"Paris is the ceiling of the world and the center of the skies," said France's great poet and novelist, Victor Hugo, once upon a time. Hugo wrote these lines at the height of the revolutionary fervor of a stirring period. Today these words sound true again—again is Paris the center of the world. But how times have changed! Paris is today the center of the world's reaction; the Goddess of Freedom which was erected in that city 140 years ago has become converted into a street wench. The much vaunted principles of "Liberté, Egalité and Fraternité," which were promulgated when the first came into the world, are today being sold to the highest bidder in the capital of France.

Paris is bursting with noise and life; its boulevards are filled day and night with surging mobs. Its cafés are as full of joy, real and artificial, as ever before. Paris with its theatres, palaces and houses of mirth and joy, is dancing a mad, drunken bacchanale. The big squares of the great city are swimming in an ocean of light. Surely Paris is the most brilliant city in the world, second only among the other world centers only by the ocean of advertising electricity of the Great White Way of New York. Yet the brightest city in Europe is today the center of the world's reaction. This joyful, lively, dancing Paris has become the symbol of despotic and heartless reaction to the oppressed masses of Europe.

French money is supporting today millions of armed men in Poland, Czech-Slovakia, Roumania and Yugoslavia. French generals are fashioning soldiers out of the workers and peasants of the new European states, in accordance with the latest military technique, and French machine guns maintain internal order in these newly erected governments. France is making sure that, in the event of a new world war, the allegiance of these new states be maintained against any possible native rebellion. Until recently, the working class of Europe had considered before the specter of "Communism, and Marx's second world, that Europe might yet become "Cossack." Today there hangs over Europe a much sharper sword—the sword of reactionary French imperialism. The democratic premier of France has ascended the throne which the Romanoffs made vacant, and there is no doubt that, for the peace and development of Europe, Poincaré is a much more dangerous Cossack than any of the Nicolases.

And where are the French workers? After one reads about the split-up and shattered labor parties in Europe, one knows that in the demoralization of its labor movement, France heads the list on the continent. I was present at a mass meeting called by the French unions to protest against the high cost of living and unemployment. In France the unions are, as known, split up and fighting each other. At this meeting, however, I could not notice this, as it was addressed by Joubaux, the "French Comintern," and the meeting was attended largely by his faction. What pain, anguish and fiery indignation I heard in the wild applause of these thousands of emotional French workers! Yet one shudders when one realizes how much of this temperamental energy is wasted by these class-conscious workers in internecine strife. What a power these men and women could have been and what relief they could have brought to all Europe if they only knew how to stay

united and to present one solid wall against the aggression of their political and economic masters!

L'Humanité, at one time one of the most influential papers in France, founded and edited by the great Jaurès, is today the organ of the official Communist Party. It has lost one-half of its former readers and its most prominent writers, Charles Rapoport, Frossard and other of the less "disciplined" adherents of the less communist faith, were forced to leave L'Humanité, while some of the best writers of the "right" Socialist faction, such as Renaudel and many others, are compelled to work on bourgeois newspapers.

And now, as the parliamentary elections are approaching, one feels that the fate of France, Germany and the rest of Europe, which is today ruled by France, hangs in the balance upon the outcome of these elections. The Socialist groups of all shades in France are no doubt numerous

enough—will they, however, be able to have their say? There is talk of a united election bloc, but it is doubtful whether this talk will survive until election day.

For the time being, Poincaré is in the saddle. French workers feel it and the workers in every other country in Europe feel it. Yet they seem to learn nothing from it. For while Paris is gay and its boulevards are dancing with joy, dissension and fighting continue to dominate the working-class districts.

In a few hours, we will again be traveling across the boundary lines of the countries of half-enslaved Europe. The groan of the underfed, submerged masses in these unfortunate lands is drowned by the uproar from the Paris boulevards. Europe is in mortal fear of becoming Cossack today and its fears are by no means unfounded.

And if there is any justification for a ray of hope in this stark darkness, it is because one train is speeding across the north of France and, very soon after we pass the Channel, we shall be in sight of London, in which direction every eye and heart that yearns for freedom is now turning.

Problems of the Labor Press

The February Locomotive Engineers' Journal contains a number of letters and articles on the labor press. The Journal asked the editors of six American labor papers "should we have an American labor daily?" All answer "yes," and give their reasons. In general they emphasize the fact that organized labor needs to influence public opinion more effectively than at present, and that the existing daily press is, generally speaking, hostile to labor particularly in times of industrial struggles.

But what of the financial problems? Oscar Ameringer, editor of the *Chicago Leader*, and the *Illinois Miner* gives convincing evidence of the great difficulty in getting circulation and advertising. He frankly states that a labor daily, when organized, must be subsidized and he suggests that if the international labor unions placed all their printing in ten labor-owned plants, the legitimate earnings would be added to subsidize ten first-class labor dailies.

Writing on "The Romance of a Labor Daily," R. W. Postage, of the staff of the *London Daily Herald*, says that when "The Herald was first started in 1911, it did not look as though it would live for twelve days. . . . Indeed it has been an unusual year in its history when its life has not been officially despaired of by the relatives sent for. Just for a few weeks at the end of 1923 it was solvent; that is to say, running without financial aid from somebody—for the first time in its history." The paper was purchased by British trade unions in 1922, after having been run as an independent enterprise and "Although the Herald is now running with a staff cut to the bone, it is not losing money, and prospects seem 'set fair' for the future."

The brief career of the New York *Leader* is narrated by Norman Thomas who was its editor. A heavy subsidy failed to sustain it for more than six weeks. The *Leader*, which succeeded The Call, was a balanced newspaper with the usual departments, foreign news, etc., but it received little support from labor or the public. The following statements sum up Mr. Thomas' ideas: "Can labor afford such a paper? Yes, if it wants it. Newspapers, to be sure, live on advertising, and a labor paper loyal to its principles may have trouble getting advertising. Yet our experience with the *Leader* convinced us that in ordinary times a labor paper without compromising its principles can get considerable advertising, provided it can first get enough circulation among

workers who can only be reached through its columns. . . .

"But does labor at present really want a labor daily? There's the rub. If we were all agreed on a political policy and on one general labor philosophy, it might be different. . . . But we aren't. Each different group or faction is suspicious of any paper that does not about its slogans. And all would unite in being suspicious of a paper that tried to be so neutral that it had no policy. While labor quarrels it reads the commercialized press."

"It was our hope that we could make the New York *Leader* so accurate and fair in its news columns, so loyal to labor as a whole, so interesting, so impartial to conflicting labor opinions in its readers' forum, so vigorous yet reasonable in its editorial policy, that it could win general support even from groups not in accord with every editorial. . . . The unions, however, put on so intensive campaign for circulation, and finding the sort of paper they wanted too expensive to support without more circulation and advertising, they let it die. Some of the lieutenants in New York labor forces were rather relieved to be so easily rid of a paper that tried to be fair to labor rather than the mouthpiece of one faction."—Federal Council Information Service.

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IN MEMORIAM

The workers of Goldberg & Gluck mourn the loss of their beloved co-worker, Fannie Zeff, who was killed by an automobile on March 24, 1924, while on her way to work.

Second Thoughts on Wholesale Conscription

By NORMAN THOMAS

Nothing that any one can say is too strong to characterize the injustice of conscripting men for war but not wealth. Wars should be financed by taxes not bonds, which do not really postpone payment for the war but merely shift the burden from one class to another. Nevertheless, we are very skeptical as to the proposals now before Congress to conscript wealth and labor as well as soldiers in the event of another war.

In the first place, unless there is a profound and fundamental change in the character of our Government, wealth would not be conscripted as labor would be. Imagine a government composed of Newton Bakers, A. Mitchell Palmers, Harry Daughertys, A. W. Mellons, really conscripting wealth! It is always such men who are in the forefront of both the old parties. If by some miracle the executive officers stood firm, the big corporations would find a way to drive some such hard bargain with the Government as the railroads did in the last war. Or, ten chances to one, the

courts would interfere. But men would not escape. All demands for higher wages could be put down. All agitation for negotiated peace could be suppressed under cover of conscripting its leaders either for the army or for work far away from their natural centers of influence.

In the second place, this proposal would make out of the political state, dominated as our modern state is by property interests, a machine more powerful than any that the mind of man has conceived. Except perhaps for a short period in Russia, when the Government tried wholesale conscription unsuccessfully, no Socialist government has ever tried, nor have Socialists advocates proposed, giving such absolute power to the political state without any measure of democratic administration and control. It is highly amusing to discover that good Republicans and Democrats who insist that Socialist theories cannot work in peace time advocate this wartime conscription for everything and claim that it will work. It is not

the question of efficiency that bothers us but of tyranny.

Some men would retort that the threat of such conscription will prevent war. Again we are doubtful. It might somewhat decrease the likelihood of war. It would not of itself make war impossible. Great wars are not deliberately plotted by a group of men for their own profit. They come out of the operation of economic and psychological forces set in motion by the competition of big interests in powerful nations for raw materials and export markets. If this process goes on we shall be relentlessly pushed into war, whether or not at the last minute the capitalists want it.

With all our hearts we believe in the socialization of wealth in times of peace. That might indeed be a step in preventing war. But such socialization of wealth must be accompanied by democratic control and be brought about by political and economic organizations which have some vision of a new world. It cannot be entrusted to the dollar a year

patriots who sit in governmental seats at the time of war. But for the admission that the conscription of wealth in war-time is feasible, many thanks. The workers may remember it in their war against waste and poverty.

WANTED: A GOOD PARTY

Senator La Follette's friends make a strong case for having him run independently for the Presidency without attempting the elaborate task of building up a complete third party. They argue that to build such a party before the election requires time and money, which are lacking; that to attempt it would run against the snags of factional differences between Senator La Follette's supporters and antagonize much support that he might get from states like his own where the Republican Party machinery has been captured by the Progressives. Therefore, they say, let the Socialist and the Farmer-Labor parties and others endorse La Follette nationally and for the rest run their own tickets. This will avoid that political bargaining which has helped to kill former third party movements.

These tactics may seem expedient to the eyes of veteran campaigners, but we cannot too earnestly insist that such a campaign will not be worth its cost unless it prepares the way for a genuine organization of a third party representing the interests of the farmers and of labor. We are not in the least interested in showing our very real appreciation of Senator La Follette by rolling up some million votes for him. Still less are we interested in throwing the Presidential election into the House of Representatives where the State of Nevada (population 77,407) has the same vote as the State of New York (10,285,277). The whole purpose of any independent campaign by Senator La Follette or another, if by some ill chance the Senator's ill health prevents his running, is to make possible in the near future a definitely organized party like the British Labor Party. Such a party would not mean that the Socialists and other groups need disband any more than the Independent Labor Party has disbanded in England. It would mean that they must act together in a definite organization with a clear-cut program. What may happen in this campaign will be helpful and valuable insofar as it will advance such a party.

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INDUSTRIAL CONFERENCE IN BROOKLYN

The Industrial Conference of Brooklyn Women, which will take place on Tuesday, April 15, at the St. George Hotel, offers to members of the Consumers' League and their friends from this part of the State the same opportunities for the discussion of industrial problems that the Industrial Institute of Central New York gave our members in that part of the state. Some of the subjects which will be taken up will be of particular interest to our Brooklyn members as the situation in Brooklyn will be discussed in detail. But the problems which will be presented are universal in their scope, so that we hope that many of our members from New York City and from Long Island will attend.

The Conference will be given under the auspices of the Brooklyn Auxiliary of the Consumers' League, in cooperation with the Civitas Club, the Brooklyn Young Women's Christian Association, and the Brooklyn Chamber of Commerce. The program offers variety and well-known speakers. With the strong backing that it has in the cooperating organizations, success is assured.—Consumers' League Bulletin.

JUSTICE

A Labor Weekly

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EDITORIALS

IMMIGRATION THEORY AND PRACTICE

In a letter addressed by General Secretary Baroff to President Gompers of the American Federation of Labor, published in our last issue, he states tersely and pointedly why the International cannot support the Johnson immigration bill. In this letter, the thought is stressed that, while the American Federation of Labor is interested in immigration purely from an economic point of view and while our International believes also that the American worker must be protected, there is involved in this problem a question of general humanity as well. The letter recalls the fact that tens and hundreds of thousands of the oppressed of other nations are forced to flee their countries because of religious, racial or political persecution and that it would be inhuman for America to shut its gates to these people. Added to it, the Johnson bill discriminates between race and race and puts the Slavs, Jews, Magyars and Italians among the undesirable races for admission. The International cannot penalize any race or nation as the principle of either regulation or restriction of immigration.

This letter expresses exactly the sentiments and thoughts of the majority of the members of our International. It would be indeed entirely preposterous if the mass of our members should agree to a proposition that would close America to all those who did not happen to come here a few years ago. It would be contrary to reason if our members would accept a theory which differentiates between race and race, nation and nation. It would be contrary to reason, too, if our members, the majority of whom adhere faithfully to the ideal and belief that the toiling masses the world over are one class, with the same interests and the same aspirations, could even for a moment agree to a proposal which discriminates between the workers of one country and the other.

We should like to go even farther. We say that not only must the doors of America be open to all those who are persecuted for their religious and political beliefs, but also to all those who are seeking to lead a better and fuller life than in the environment and the land of their birth. Every human being has a right to try to improve his condition by emigrating to another land where his prospects for greater earnings and a greater measure of freedom are larger. This right is in our opinion natural and unalienable. Human progress has been built upon this inviolable prerogative, and the nations in practically every country and territory on our planet have, as a rule, reached their present place of habitation as a result of mass migration, driven by a powerful urge to improve their living conditions.

President Gompers in his reply to Brother Baroff says that "no citizen of another country has an inherent right to come to the United States." If it is true that every human being is entitled to the "pursuit of happiness" as our Declaration of Independence promulgates, we are inclined to believe this right also includes the right to come to America, if thereby one may achieve a greater measure of happiness.

Of course, we agree with President Gompers that America has the power to shut its doors to those who wish to enter here. And if Might be Right, America has surely the right to act in such matters. If Might, however, does not always coincide with Right, a point of view which, it seems to us, the President of the American Federation of Labor is always willing to accept, we fail to see how he could assert that America has the absolute right to restrict immigration or shut its doors completely in the face of those unfortunate who are knocking to be admitted.

In his letter to Secretary Baroff, President Gompers strikes another point: "He (the immigrant) has no more right to come to the United States without the consent of our people than you or I have to walk into any home in this country and say to the head of the family: 'We intend to live here whether you want us or not.'" It strikes us that this comparison is not a pertinent one. One's home is one's own property. It represents the sum total of one's individual, largely hard-earned, achievement, and no one therefore has a right to break into a private home and settle there against the will of its owner. We do not see, however, by what right those who inhabit America at present should regard this whole great land as their own exclusive property. Our point of view is that a country belongs to all who want to live and work there, and no people can place its foot upon any territory and declare that it is its own, for no one to enter. There may be perhaps some vestige of reason in the instance of a small, over-crowded country where there is actually no more room for newcomers, but in a land like America which is still big enough to comfortably assimilate tens of millions of people, it is a violation of the elements of justice, to close

its gates to those who are seeking bread and a home which they could not have in the countries in which they were born.

We still believe with Thomas Paine, who considered himself as "a citizen of the world, and the world as his fatherland." From this point of view, America surely has not the right, still less the absolute right, to limit or entirely prohibit immigration, though, of course, it has the power to do it.

President Gompers puts in his letter to Secretary Baroff another question which on the face of it sounds quite logical: "You say that your International Union cannot accept the penalizing of any race or nation. Do you mean by this that you would admit the billion yellow and brown peoples living within the barred Asiatic zone, from which no immigrant can come into this country? Do you see only the Jew, the Italian, the Slav and the Magyar?"

And in ending his letter, President Gompers puts the same question over again but in a different form "If, as you say, the policy of immigration should be controlled by the benefit that can be done humanity, then we would have to have unrestricted immigration with no prescribed zone or no oppressed people that cannot come to this country."

To this question we should like to offer an answer of which Gompers himself makes use in one of the editorials in the American Federationist for April, in which he explains why he is for the Johnson bill, in the following words:

At present the Congress of the United States is considering immigration legislation to replace the present three per cent quota law which expires June 30, this year. If it were possible to replace the three per cent quota law with a law absolutely forbidding immigration into the United States for the next five years, that would be the most advantageous thing that could be done. In a world where practical results must be achieved it is generally understood that when the entire objective cannot be achieved, it is wise to secure as much as possible. It is not possible to induce enough members of the United States Congress to have a sufficient regard for American institutions and the well being of American wage earners to stop immigration entirely for five years, or even for one year. It has been possible to secure the introduction of a bill in Congress, known as the Johnson Bill, and to secure for that bill a favorable report by the House Committee on Immigration. This bill is more satisfactory than the three per cent quota law because it changes the basis of calculation of the quota and would perceptibly reduce the number of aliens that could be admitted within the year.

In theory, President Gompers is therefore for a law that would shut off immigration entirely for five years (Why only for five years? Why not for all time? Is not this in itself a sort of compromise?) But as Brother Gompers cannot apparently hope to achieve that, he is contented to accept the Johnson Bill. Brother Baroff's tactical position is somewhat similar. Theoretically he is for unlimited immigration for all races and all nations. But he knows that this is impossible of achievement and that is the reason why he is content to accept some restriction of immigration. But he demands, nevertheless, that this restriction be administered in a liberal and humane manner.

If Brother Baroff is therefore inconsistent with his demand that the laws for restriction of immigration be made less severe, Brother Gompers suffers from at least as much inconsistency in working so energetically for the Johnson Bill, though outspokenly in favor of a total cessation of immigration. And if Gompers is right in assuming that he is ready to take whatever he can get if he cannot get all, Brother Baroff is similarly right when, seeing that he cannot get full freedom for immigration, he is doing his best to make immigration as little restricted as possible and with as little national and racial discrimination as can be secured.

Our ideal is absolute freedom of immigration. Unfortunately in practice our International cannot always be for it. For no matter how strong the desire of our workers to help those who are suffering and undergoing the tortures of hell on the other side of the ocean, they nevertheless, fear them. They know that in these hungry and ragged masses they may and will find dangerous opponents. They know that against such a human flood which might rush upon America from half-ruined Europe, the strongest union can offer no bulwark, and can be swept off the face of the earth. They know that absolutely free immigration at this moment when so many millions are looking for an opportunity to break away from the grinding poverty could dole out all sorts of everything that they had built up in the course of so many years, through so much arduous fighting. Their apprehensions will not be quieted by the calculations of the statisticians that, in the course of time, everything will be all right. They know that for the time being, perhaps for a number of years, they will have to suffer a great deal, and even our workers are not so altruistic as to share their loaf of bread with the prospective arrivals.

Our workers are torn between these sharply conflicting feelings. On the one hand, they would facilitate as much as they can the coming over of those who are suffering untold agony in Europe, without the least hope of improvement in the near future, and on the other they are compelled to think of their own condition, of the extent to which an unrestricted influx of immigrants might injure their interests and interfere with their own fight for a better life here.

Such is the dilemma in which the immigrant worker in America who has not yet forgotten that he was an immigrant only a short while ago, finds himself. How happy he would be to welcome these suffering wanderers from a place of rest and refuge! But he knows, too, that his employer is looking forward with eager expectation to the hungry immigrant mass which would be contented to work for as little as is given to it. The immigrant worker of America, therefore, must accept today a certain amount of restriction and regulation of immigration. But certain

Two Months of Labor Government

By DR. HERMAN FRANK

The first two months of a Labor Government in England have brought so startling social changes. Nevertheless, it must be admitted that the Labor Cabinet is stronger today than when first formed and the fears on the part of English capital have not yet been allayed. It is quite likely that the enemies of Labor have expected more fireworks from the MacDonald Cabinet which would inevitably precipitate its downfall. But such a complicated economic structure as England, with its old political and social traditions, does not permit of rash and startling changes from which the first to suffer will be the poor classes. This explains to a great degree the caution and patience of the Labor Cabinet.

This, however, does not mean that Labor Government would shelve its political program, which aided it in scoring such a remarkable victory in the last elections. If this were so, the Labor movement of England would amount to little and it would be a body without soul or policy. Quite to the contrary, the less a front the Labor Cabinet puts up, the more thorough and systematic its inner work to realize the demands of the working class.

One of these demands is a radical reform in the English taxation policy. As if by coincidence, taxation reform is now the very center of political discussion both in England and America, and in no other question is the tremendous difference between the two countries as clearly reflected as in the attitude of both countries towards this question.

What has the Labor Cabinet already accomplished in this respect? According to the statement made by Ramsay MacDonald, the Labor Cabinet decided to make a thorough investigation to find out to what extent various forms of taxation enter into production costs and hinder foreign commerce. As known, English taxation is largely due to the critical condition of British export. The Labor Cabinet, therefore, plans to form a "truly authoritative committee" composed of the best experts to revise in an honest and scientific way the State finances.

It is understood that in the 1924-25 budget prepared by the first Socialist Chancellor of the Exchequer—

Philip Snowden—which will be introduced in Parliament pretty soon, the work of this investigation commission will not yet be felt. The budget, however, will have a number of changes, such as the reduction of indirect taxes, which tend to increase the cost of living, a reduction of amusement taxes, small reforms which mean something for the workers. It is figured out that the abolition of these indirect taxes will save 95 cents per week to each working-class family.

This, however, is not the budget reform which the English working class expects from this Government and which must come sooner or later. In order to understand better the prospects of the English workers and the future of this social reform in England, we must consider first the demands of the Labor Party with regard to State finances and taxation. The present difficult financial condition of England was created through the enormous war costs which were not met by taxation but by internal and foreign loans. The English national debt today amounts to 38 billion dollars. Suffice it to say that the interest on this debt alone amounts to four million dollars a day and the per capita indebtedness of every English subject, including women and children, is \$775—the highest in the history of any nation.

The Labor Party used to attack very sharply foreign governments for having incurred such a huge national debt, which burdens so heavily the economic structure of the country. Had England taxed war profits heavily during the war, the country would have been a great deal better off in this respect. But England covered only one-fourth of its war expenditures by taxation and the remainder by loans. As a result, the war has created in England thousands of wealthy persons who enlarged their fortunes at the expense of the State and the working masses.

Here are a few interesting facts concerning the war profiteer in England: 3,620 English millionaires who owned nine and a half billion dollars before the war increased their fortunes to the extent of three and a half billions during the war years; 280 multi-millionaires, each of whom

had over five million dollars before the war, have added almost a billion dollars to their colossal fortunes. Not less than ten billion dollars could have been raised for war expenditures by such a tax upon these accumulations if England's financial policy had been directed in those years by an interest in its real population.

The Labor Government has in view two very radical laws for the purpose of putting the State finances on a sound basis,—the capital levy and a new inheritance tax. Neither of these projects, however, will be introduced into Parliament until the English people authorize the Labor Party to carry them out by giving it a majority of votes in one of the next elections. The capital levy will not be imposed upon business but only upon individual rich persons. It will start from persons owning \$25,000 and will increase progressively with the increased size of the individual fortunes to be assessed. This tax will have to be paid out in the course of a few years and is expected to bring in about thirteen billion dollars. Only after a great part of the national debt has been paid off through this capital levy will it be possible to begin big social reforms in England, such as the nationalization of railways and coal mines. The financial experts of the Labor Party expect that the capital levy will set up the energy and the initiative of the country and will eventually rebound to the welfare of all classes.

The inheritance tax, which is being planned by the Labor Party, is even more radical, because it aims at the abolition of the principal privilege of modern capitalist society, the privilege of transferring accumulated wealth from one generation of owners to another as a means of continued exploitation of the workers and farm-

ers. Heretofore inheritance taxes in England have been paid at a progressive ratio: The greater the inheritance, the greater the percentage to be paid to the government. The project of the Labor Party provides that, when a son inherits a piece of land from his father, he is to yield to the government twenty per cent of its value. If, however, this piece of land was acquired by the father, but came to him through inheritance, the son is to give the government forty per cent of its value. When this piece of land eventually goes over to his grandson, the legate will have to turn over to the government sixty per cent of its value. In this manner, the farther the line of succession, the greater the share of the inheritance will be given to the government. Of course neither of these two projects can be undertaken by the Labor Party or by any other government unless they feel secure that they have the country behind them and a majority of the elections.

And what about America? In the last few days we have heard on the floor of the Senate in Washington the protest of the Secretary of the Treasury against an increase of inheritance taxes from 25 to 40 per cent. In the course of the last few months, the present administration has twice failed to carry through in Congress a taxation reform. It must not be, however, suspected that these defeats came on account of the jealousy of either the upper or lower House of Congress for the interests of the workers or the small property classes. These reform programs failed because they were too openly in favor of the capitalist and big property owners, and at the last moment the Congressmen lost their nerve.

Herein lies the striking difference between the plans of the Labor Government in England and the taxation ideas of the Washington administration which is steadfastly and faithfully doing its duty as a servant of the privileged classes, the money magnates and the big industrialists.

The Unnameable

By A. LEBEDIGER

When spring is here—and it comes each year—we buzz and hubbub about it. Nearly all of this mushy halloo is sheer parroting, and accepted, time-honored exaltation. We say nearly all—for we can duly appreciate the legitimate heightening of the spirits of the summer boarding-house and hotel keepers. The shopkeeper is entitled to his measure of joy over the arrival of the seasons that pay.

To us, however, the beautiful side of spring is not spring itself; it is the promise of spring—the unnameable thing which creates the advance atmosphere of spring. It is this fluttering, hovering thing which descends invisibly upon us and then rises again to heights, carrying us along in a trance away beyond the horizon. It is this state of mind, if you will, that is without a name, this near-reality that is waiting between heaven and earth—that we call spring, that to us is the best in spring.

For, when spring becomes a fact, when it is bright green and full of bloom, one can recognize it miles and miles away. Then spring savors of the heat of summer; then its festive thrill is gone.

Such is the case not with spring alone. Spring's whimsical kin—Love—is equally fascinating when one is barely aware of its coming.

It is Love's first effervescence, the first timid call one often does not realize whither, that stirs us most, when, of a sudden, you discover that you are under the spell of a magic word with the source of your song still shrouded in a nebulous, unnameable haze.

Then Love is beautiful. For, when Love gets its full legitimate cognomen one may get anything in the world, all the accessories that go with it—ah, but not Love. The loveliest of maidens, my dear fellow men, is the one whose name we know not; of all terrestrial maidens she is the fairest—perhaps because of the earth she is the least earthly.

Love does not like the palpable, the concrete thing. If you will, after the girl is here, and she holds us firmly in her loving embrace, the sequel is a matrimonial match. This starts a cycle of lessons in cooking at our stomach's expense and we are off together on the long week-day journey of marital co-living.

And the same is true of that other sister of spring—Song.

The best song is the one that sings within you and out of you—without a name.

Did you ever walk along a highway when, of a sudden, a melody burst out of you, a song without an audience, a song just for yourself, contented to last just as long as you are contented to hum it? Such a song gratifies the heart most, for it is the echo of hundreds of unborn melodies, full of multiple meanings and undefinable delectation.

When a song gets a name—then it is just one more song. Once out in the world, set up in cold print and given a name, the song is dead, though its author may be rewarded with the laurels of a poet.

It is the unnameable, the burning-to-be-born, that is sublime in spring, love and song.

HONORS WELL EARNED

The Joint Board of the Cloak and Dressmakers' Union tendered a banquet last week to Brother Philip Kaplowitz which was attended by a number of prominent persons from the world of labor, including Samuel Gompers, Morris Hillquit, Meyer London, President Sigman, Secretary Harris and several hundred guests. They all came to express their sincere respect for Brother Kaplowitz who had so ably and loyally served the Joint Board as its treasurer for the past ten years.

Philip Kaplowitz was graduated from a cloak shop into the position of leadership and responsibility in the Union—thanks to his unlimited industry, ability and rugged loyalty. And when the International Union Bank was established some months ago he was drafted for the post of cashier in this bank as the ideally fitting person for the job.

Philip Kaplowitz is not a college-made product. He is self-made in the best sense of the term, except to what substantial extent the Union contributed towards his growth and all-around development. The longer he remained with the Union the greater his usefulness to the organization became. The tribute which he received at the banquet only tended to emphasize the high esteem and consideration in which he is held by every one of his fellow officers and leaders in the labor movement.

Brother Kaplowitz is still a young man, though he already occupies a prominent place in the labor world. We feel that there is no prize too big within the gift of our organization that he could not attain should he strive for it. Our workers respect and love Kaplowitz, because they know that whatever position he might occupy, he will fill it in a capable, conscientious, dignified and loyal manner.

Things Worthwhile Knowing

The Supreme Court vs. Itself

By ETHEL M. SMITH

The United States Supreme Court, by a majority speaking through Mr. Justice Sutherland, announced an opinion last April which in effect denies that low wages govern health. The same court, through the same Mr. Justice Sutherland, has just announced unanimous opinion to the effect that hours of labor do govern health. There are a good many millions of men and women in the United States who find themselves unable to appreciate the distinction the Supreme Court is able to make. It is, of course, obvious that long hours destroy health. But how can anybody argue that lack of sufficient wages to buy necessary food, clothes and shelter can fail likewise to destroy health?

The Supreme court opinions here referred to are the opinion invalidating the minimum wage law for women in the District of Columbia, announced last April, and the opinion just rendered sustaining the night work law for women in the State of New York.

The minimum wage law limited freedom of contract by providing that no woman or girl should be employed at less than a living wage. The New York night work law limited freedom of contract by providing that no woman or girl should be employed in restaurants or cities of a certain class between the hours of 10 at night and 6 in the morning.

Labor has reason to be profoundly thankful that the Supreme Court sustained this New York law. If it had not done so the probability is that the 48-hour week, the 8-hour day, the 54-hour week, or the 9-hour day—in fact, all legal limitations upon the hours of labor for women—would have been threatened by an unfavorable decision in the New York night work case, because the principle of hour limitation in the interests of health is the same. The extraordinary and exasperating thing is that the legal mind can reason either way upon the same principle, with such tragic consequences to women workers. Says Justice Sutherland in his opinion sustaining the New York night work law: "The Legislature had before it a mass of information from which it concluded that night work is substantially and especially detrimental to the health of women. We cannot say that the conclusion is without warrant. . . . Where the constitutional validity of a statute depends upon the existence of facts, courts must be cautious about reaching a conclusion respecting them contrary to that reached by the Legislature, and if the question of what the facts establish be a fairly debatable one, it is not permissible for the judge to set up his opinion in respect of it against the opinion of the lawmaker." Mr. Justice Sutherland and his associates unanimously concluded in this instance that they were "precluded from reviewing the Legislature's determination" on the grounds just cited.

Yet five of the same men who rendered this latest opinion decided a year ago, where the constitutional validity of another statute was involved, that they had the power to review and destroy an act of Congress which rested upon a similar mass of information and legislative judgment. Indeed, the courts of eight states also had passed upon similar statutes and upheld them and the United States Supreme Court itself had once declined to call such law unconstitutional, and on the occasion when the decision was rendered four members of this same Supreme bench

were of a contrary opinion to that of the five justices who constituted a majority. "But," said Mr. Justice Sutherland in his opinion in the recent New York case, "the question is entirely different from the question in the minimum wage case. The statute in the Adkins case (that is, the minimum wage case) was a wage fixing law pure and simple. It had nothing to do with the hours or conditions of labor."

These words hark back to the philosophy expounded in Justice Sutherland's earlier opinion, when he said, "In principle there can be no difference between the case of selling labor and the case of selling goods." To Justice Sutherland labor is a commodity and an article of commerce. He does not see that it is an inseparable part of the life of a human being, and that a woman can no more maintain her health if she has to live on wages of \$6, \$8, or \$10 a week than she can if she has to work ten and twelve hours a day or night. Yet the minimum wage law was to him "a price fixing law, pure and simple." He says so.

It was quite another thing to Mr. Justice Taft and Mr. Justice Holmes, who wrote minority opinions in the minimum wage case. At that time, as presumably now, when the court is

unanimous in upholding the night work law, Justice Taft was unable to see the distinctions drawn by Justice Sutherland. He says: "I assume that the conclusion in this case rests on the distinction between a minimum of wages and a maximum of hours in the limitation of the liberty to contract. I regret to be at variance with the court as to the substance of this distinction. In absolute freedom of contract the one term is as important as the other, for both enter equally into consideration given and received. A restriction as to one is not any greater in essence than the other, and is of the same kind. . . . If it be said that long hours of labor have a more direct effect upon the health of an employee than the low wage, there is very respectable authority from close observers, disclosed in the record and in the literature on the subject, and quoted at length in the briefs, that they are equally harmful in this regard. Congress took this view and we cannot say it was not warranted in doing so."

Justice Holmes, who also dissented from Justice Sutherland's opinion in the minimum wage case, wrote in his own separate statement at that time: "I confess that I do not understand the principle on which the power to fix a minimum for the wages of women can be denied by those who admit the power to fix the maximum for their hours of work. I fully assent to the proposition that here as elsewhere the distinctions of law are distinctions of degree, but I perceive no difference in the kind or degree of interference with liberty, the only matter with which we have any concern, between the one case and the other. The bargain is equally ef-

fective whichever half you regulate."

It may seem ungracious for working women to quarrel with the court at this time, when its decision in the New York case has presumably saved the validity of the great body of hour laws which had seemed to be threatened by the precedent in the minimum wage decision. It is impossible, however, not to be impressed again with the tragic irony of the fact that by the vote of one man in nine, who afterwards could argue so convincingly for the limitation of freedom of contract with respect to hours of labor, the millions of women wage earners in the United States were denied a legal right to a living wage—From Bulletin of Chicago Women's Trade Union League.

STEEL PROPHET—AND PROFIT

In December, 1922, Judge E. H. Gary of the United States Steel Corporation said: "I would like to see an eight-hour day in general effect throughout the country, but we do not intend to wreck the industry and that is what would happen if we adopted it."

The eight-hour day having been introduced, the "wrecking" is now seen in a net income of \$168,707,064 for 1923. After paying higher dividends than before, and appropriating \$40,000,000 for new investment, \$14,259,993 is left to swell the surplus account.

In the spring of 1923, Judge Gary said it would be impractical to introduce the eight-hour day on account of labor shortage. The eight-hour day has now been introduced. The steel corporation produced in March, 1924, at about the highest rate in history, or 48,000,000 tons per annum, yet there was no labor shortage.

Judge Gary said, "If labor were sufficiently plentiful to permit the change, it would be necessary to add to the selling prices certainly as much as the increase in cost." Yet selling prices have been reduced since the change was begun.

When the eight-hour day was put into effect Judge Gary cut daily wages of those involved. He said this was necessary on account of the extra men required. Almost his next act was to increase dividends on the common stock, thus giving the owners about \$4,000,000 more than in 1922 out of profits. It was a thrifty act.

Judge Gary is better at profit than at prophecy.—Facts for Workers, April, 1924.

DR. PAUL BRISSENDEN WILL SPEAK ON THE TRADE UNION AGREEMENT THIS SATURDAY AT 2:30 IN OUR WORKERS' UNIVERSITY

Dr. Brissenden will discuss the evolution of trade union agreements, bringing out the fact that at first they dealt only with wages and hours and other subjects ancillary to control of the workers directly, later registering increased control on the part of the workers of a much more fundamental sort, and finally control of the business administration of the industry.

Dr. Brissenden's knowledge of this subject will make his discussion most valuable to our members.

RUSSIAN ART EXHIBITION

By special arrangement, our members can obtain half-price tickets to the Russian Art Exhibition now being held in the Grand Central Palace. The price of the tickets is fifty-five cents, but our members can obtain them for thirty cents in the office of the Educational Department, 3 West 16th street.

After 20 Years

By S. A. DE WITT

We sat listening in recently at a strike meeting of one of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union locals. Everything seemed exotic. We had not attended one in many years.

A kaleidoscope scene spanned twenty years for us as we sat there. We saw the sweatshop slaves of 1904 who had torn the heart of Morris Rosenfeld, the poet of the tailors, and whose poems of their suffering come down to us with all their ringing, ringing memories.

The long interminable hours, the slack seasons, the "sack," the famine rations of food and pay, the struggling tenements, ridden with filth and vermin, the dread of consumption, the horrible inroads of that pale terror, the spatteringly weak strikes, the brutal defeat, the bluelegging, the unending enumeration of all that is awful, painful, horrible, unendurable in human life. . . . And twenty years later. . . .

This meeting of confident, well clothed, housed and nourished men and women, militant, intelligent; their power to command the industry; they are in; their enthusiasm; the calm, clear reports of their sincere representatives; all this sense of surer and surer; that pervades the meeting; it will cannot bear the full paragraphing of prose. We simply had to write this for them—of them.

AFTER TWENTY YEARS (Dedicated to the Needle Trade Unions of America.)

There is no clearer answer to the years
So spent in slowly building stone on stone,
Mortared with stuff of dreams and stinging tears
And trowelled with vain protest and dull moan.

There is no braver challenge to the dawn
Than this convulsed of liberated men,
Who shed their bondage with no hoast of brow

Nor about the epic of a fevered pen.

For this they did, and need not peek or pine;

They bled no head in beggary nor plead,

And knighted with their strength yet make no sign

Of arrogance too arrogant to heed.

Time was when they were lowlier than cloud—

Dried flesh, drawn cheeks, bent spine and sodden brain—

With a dead faith in every form of God

And a dead sense to any touch save pain.

Cold parts of cold machines that shrieked and whirled—

Weird rhapsodies of hopelessness and doom;

Or spavined beasts whom vicious hunger spurred

From dark to dark, from tomb to hecatomb,

Till the white horror of an airless hole

Had stoppered up the lung and tuned the breath

To the hard melody that wracks the soul

And gives frail lips the strength to spit with death.

But now I sit with strong and laughing men,

Full grown to kingdom over all their kings',

Without a trace of the grim serfdom when

They were mangled with drab, ignoble things.

Now freedom dances in each clear-filmed eye.

And not a quiver in an upraised hand;

And gone the tear, the whining and the sigh—

They ask to master's favor, they command. . . .



LABOR THE WORLD OVER

FOREIGN ITEMS

HOLLAND

A NEW PRESIDENT FOR THE I. F. T. U.

At the next International Trades Union Congress a new president will have to be elected. J. H. Thomas, M. P., has hitherto filled this position, but as he is now colonial secretary, the Congress will have to find some one to take his place as president.

The sentiment prevailing at headquarters is that it would be politic for the trade unionists of Europe again to elect a British representative as their chairman, for it must be remembered that America still holds aloof from the International Federation of Trade Unions, and no one is more likely to persuade Mr. Gompers and his colleagues to join the Federation than a representative from the British Trade Union Congress, to whom the Americans send annually fraternal delegates. Then, delicate negotiations are taking place with respect to Russia, and considering the feeling that prevails on the Continent against the Russians, and on the part of members of the Bureau of the International Federation of Trade Unions, it is evident that no one but a British representative can bring these negotiations to a successful termination.

We hope, however, that if the Congress, which elects as members of its Bureau individuals, and not representatives of national federations, desires that another Englishman shall take the place vacated by Mr. Thomas, the present British Minister for the Colonies, this new President may be successful in his efforts to change the attitude of the Russians.

GERMANY

NATIONALISTS SEEK LABOR SUPPORT.

With the aim of tying up as many German workers as possible with 100 per cent Nationalist employers and thus insuring their support for the monarchist program, the German National Labor League is circularizing employers asking them to do their hiring through the League. One of these letters fell into the hands of a business man who was no Nationalist. He turned it over to the Berlin Vorwärts, the Socialist central organ, which printed it with much sarcastic comment upon the prospects of the Nationalist Labor League achieving its object of "fastening" the workers to the monarchist movement and freeing them from the "red trade unions" frequently "under Jewish direction."

COMMUNIST HEADQUARTERS WRECKED.

When the offices of the Central Committee of the Communist Party in Berlin and of the Rote Fahne, the Communist daily, were restored to their owners on March 1, after having been in the possession of the police since last November, it was found that vandals had practically wrecked the interior of the rooms, says a Berlin report. Books and records had been torn up, drawers ripped open and their contents rifled and everything possible done to delay a resumption of activities. The criminal police promised to make a thorough investigation, but the Communists are not expecting any arrests.

ATTACK ON SHOP COUNCILS.

Having put the eight-hour working day temporarily out of operation, some German industrialists are beginning a campaign against the shop councils under the slogan of more production. In its issue of February 24, the Bergwerks-Zeitung, speaking for the big mining interests, tried to show that the functioning of shop councils in Germany cost the employers about 78,000,000 gold marks a year in lost time and added just that much to the cost of production. It arrived at these figures by estimating that there were 450,000 members of shop councils in the country, of whom 45,000 put in all their time on council activities, while the others lost about a half hour a day for that purpose. Picking up these assertions the trade union papers declare that the figures are all wrong, as the time lost in council work doesn't amount to more than a small fraction of the mine owners' estimates. At all events, the unions are going to fight to the finish for the maintenance of the shop councils as one of the most important labor safeguards provided for in the Weimar Constitution.

AUSTRIA

NO "CO-OP" DIVIDENDS THIS TIME.

At the annual delegate meeting of the Vienna Cooperative of Consumption it was reported by Secretary Eldersch that, due to the heavy taxes, it was impossible to pay any dividends on last year's business, although the turnover for the twelve months' period ended October 1 was 282 per cent above that of the previous period. It was pointed out that despite the fact of the Vienna cooperative being the largest of its kind in the world there was plenty of room for growth, as, if all the members of the families of the organized workers had exclusively patronized the 153 branch stores, the turnover would have been about 600,000,000,000 crowns (at 70,000 for \$1), instead of 180,242,689,887.

VIENNA POLICE TURN DOWN CLERICALS.

Efforts of the Clericals to win a majority of the Vienna police force during the past year have not met with much success, judging from the results of the recent election of delegates to the men's representative body. Of the 5,589 votes cast, 4,514 went to the candidates of the Free Trade Union, while the Christian Nationalist non-political candidates got only 975. The Free Trade Union elected 195 delegates and 5 members of the Central Committee and the Clericals 14 and 1, respectively.

Press Bureau, International Federation of Trade Unions

DOMESTIC ITEMS

PRINTERS RAISE WAGES.

Newspaper printers, in Denver, have secured a wage increase of \$4.50 a week through arbitration. The new scale is \$46.50 for day work and \$49.50 for night work. The award dates to last September and the printers will receive approximately \$20,000 in back wages.

OBJECT TO PROFIT IN INJURED WORKERS.

Organized workers are massed in opposition against the private insurance companies in New York.

At a conference in Albany trade unionists of the state declared that the profit-taking insurance corporations have practically nullified the workmen's compensation law.

Profiteers have forced claimants into expensive litigation; they have impeded the law by long drawn out procedure in contesting the claims of injured and the widowed and orphaned, and have resorted to every tricky legal practice and claim agents' custom to defeat justice and secure more profits.

The workers now demand that the profiteers be driven out of the compensation insurance business, and that the state be charged with this duty.

CUT STANDARD'S TAX; PROFITS ARE \$9,000,000.

Evidence before the senate committee that is investigating the Internal revenue bureau shows how corporations secure heavy tax reductions.

By employing a former bureau clerk the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey was able to have one tax assessment cut from \$23,000,000 to \$5,000,000.

ARMS CONFERENCE FAVORED BY HOUSE.

The House has gone on record in favor of another world arms conference. The proposed meeting would consider the limitation of submarine and surface craft of less than 10,000 tons, and aircraft.

The recent armament conference held in Washington resulted in a treaty that the public believed applied to naval strength. It is now discovered that it only applies to capital ships, and not to ships with a tonnage of less than 10,000 tons. As a result of this strict interpretation, Great Britain has 49 cruisers, Japan approximately 28 and the United States 10.

ANGRY AT CONGRESS; WANT PROBES ENDED.

The New York Times, that good old defender of things that are, is enraged because Congress does not end its numerous probes.

The Times quotes unnamed "many citizens" who fear that Congress and even government itself is breaking down.

"It is astonishing from what numbers one may hear the sorrowful assertion that democracy is a failure and that representative institutions are rapidly going to the dogs," said the Times.

LABOR INJUNCTION FOES INCREASE.

For the first time in Illinois, the candidates in the state primaries of the two leading political parties publicly announce their opposition to the misuse of the injunction writ.

This concession to public opinion is traceable to the Illinois State Federation of Labor's continuous anti-injunction campaign.

FAVORS AMENDMENT TO END CHILD LABOR.

The House Judiciary Committee has ordered a favorable report on the joint resolution offered by Congressman Porter proposing an amendment to the Constitution granting Congress the power to prohibit child labor.

The amendment is short and easily understood. Section 1 gives congress the power to "limit, regulate and prohibit the labor of persons under eighteen years of age."

Section 2 declares that the power of the several states to regulate their own affairs shall be unimpaired by this amendment except in the case of child labor, which will hereafter be considered a Federal question.

HOME MANUFACTURING AIDS CHILD LABOR EVIL.

Greater restriction of the manufacture of articles in the home is favored by New York State Industrial Commissioner Shientag, who declared that this is one method to cope with illegal child labor.

The State official's report is based on findings of the Child Welfare Commission, which has been investigating the subject for six months. More than 16,000 tenements in which manufacturing is permitted and 2,150 families engaged in this kind of work, mostly in New York City, formed the principal field of the investigation.

PROFITS UNCHECKED; RECORDS ARE BROKEN.

A profit for 1923 of \$1,602,817 is announced by the Remington Typewriting Company. This is after taxes, depreciation and interest have been cared for.

The General Electric Company's net income last year was \$38,001,528, after maintenance, depreciation, reserves and taxes were provided for.

Last year's financial report of R. H. Macy Co., department stores, shows a profit of \$3,337,887 after dividends and all other charges were paid.

The net profit of General Motors Corporation last year was \$35,180,154 after dividends, taxes, depreciation and other charges.

The American Radiator Company announces that last year was the most profitable in its history. Its net profits totaled \$10,968,977. New profits were also made by the several foreign units of the company.

Western Electric Company had its banner year in 1923. Net profits were \$8,919,513. This concern is owned by the American Telephone and Telegraph Company.

Liggett's International, Limited, made a net profit of \$3,107,825 last year. This concern is a holding company for the United Drug Company.



EDUCATIONAL COMMENT AND NOTES

A Course in Trade Union Policies and Tactics

By DAVID J. SAPOSS

Given at the

WORKERS' UNIVERSITY

of the

INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION

Seasons 1922-23 and 1923-24

LESSON II.—Continued.

- V. (a) The third of these great theories explains industrial evolution according to the manner in which man sells the results of his labor. This is known as the Bargaining Theory, and is concerned with the question, with whom does the worker or producer strike the bargain for the work he performs.
- (b) In the early history of industry the worker produced directly for the customer or consumer, so that there were no middle-men between the worker and the consumer. Later the retail merchant stepped in between the worker and the consumer, so that the worker no longer sold his product to the consumer but worked for the retail merchant. Following this, we have the wholesale merchant and the manufacturer for whom the worker produced, and who sold to the retail merchant, who in turn sold to the customer.
- (c) This separation of the worker from the consumer, has made it possible for the capitalist to exploit both the worker and the consumer, and forced the workers to organize into unions.
- VI. (a) It was this development of factory production, national and world markets, and the middle man or capitalist which made it impossible for the worker to sell direct to the consumer, that brought about modern capitalism and a permanent working class.
- (b) Modern capitalism is therefore an outgrowth of large scale production and national and world markets. These entail huge amounts of capital and therefore make it impossible for the ordinary worker to own his little shop and sell direct to the customer.
- (c) Large scale business and exploitation of national and world markets is made possible by concentration of capital and credit in the hands of banks and great financial institutions. The key to modern capitalism, therefore, is credit control. Those who control credit, dominate industry and commerce and thereby dominate all society.
- (d) This explains the labor bank movement that is spreading throughout the country, producers' and consumers' cooperation, and nationalization of industry.

Students' Reunion

(Continued from page 2)

portance to the future of the labor movement, the organization of the movement for workers' education within the trade unions. It was our good fortune to be the pioneers in this field and to make the experiment for the Labor movement. We are happy to say that the Labor movement has endorsed our experiment and is determined to carry it on to further development. The success of our educational activities is due to the interest and cooperation on the part of our active membership," and she added that her earnest hope was that those of the members who had benefited by our educational activities would place the information and knowledge that they obtained at the disposal of our International Union in particular and the Labor movement in general, and that this they would accomplish through active participation in the affairs of our Union.

The chairman then introduced as the first speaker of the evening, Secretary Baroff, who expressed the hope that those of our members who take advantage of our educational activities will utilize the education they are getting in our classes for the good of the Union and called upon them for active service in the interest of our organization in particular and the Labor movement in general.

Spencer Miller, Jr., secretary of the Workers' Education Bureau, in but few words expressed to the audience the appreciation of the American La-

bor movement for the great experiment the International has made in workers' education and said that nothing had advanced this idea within the trade unions as much as the activities of the Educational Department of our International Union.

Dr. Carman pointed out the value of the educational activities of our Union and of the contribution it is bound to make to adult education. He also stressed the importance of the study of history to the worker. Through it the worker sees the labor movement as one of the greatest social forces in modern industrial society. He also said that in our classes in history a successful experiment was made in developing a new method of presenting historical facts, and added that the workers must be prepared to assume greater responsibilities since the time is not far distant when they will be called upon to do so. He felt that workers' education will prepare the workers for that great task.

Dr. Sheffield, in part, said that the workers' educational movement, which was inspired by the activities of our Educational Department, was instrumental in bringing the college professor, the scientist, the economist close together with the trade union movement, and that this getting-together will have the most profound influence on our groups.

Dr. Harry Laidler, secretary of the League for Industrial Democracy,

said that it rests with workers' education to set an example to our conventional colleges of what real education and its aims should be.

Mr. Wilbert said that the years in which he has been connected as instructor with the Educational Department of our International were to him the most memorable ones. Nothing in the Labor movement has interested him as much as coming in touch with our members who were students in his classes.

Addresses were given by the following students: Wm. Lupa, Local 3; Y. Malofsky, Local 62, and Morris Leff, Local 1. All of them in short impressive addresses expressed their appreciation of the educational activities of our Union, took pride in the achievements of their organization, and expressed the hope that the activities of our Educational Department will some day be one of the most effective means of preparing the workers for their future responsibilities.

The secretary of the Students' Council then read an inspiring resolution which had been prepared by a committee and was enthusiastically and unanimously adopted by those assembled in a rising vote.

Among other guests were Professor Thompson, Mrs. Laidler, Mrs. Mildred Calhoun of the Brookwood faculty and Mr. and Mrs. Norman Thomas of the League for Industrial Democracy. Brookwood College was represented by a special committee consisting of members of our International. We are sorry that through some misunderstanding no member of the committee was introduced by the chairman, as had been previously planned.

Many messages of congratulation were received. These will appear in another column.

Alexander Fichandler, our educational director, who unfortunately could not be present due to the illness of Mrs. Fichandler, sent the following telegram:

"Serious illness at home prevents me from joining my fellow-teachers and students. Congratulations on completion of a splendidly successful season. Best wishes for continued efforts in the cause of labor education."

The chairman of the evening and the secretary of the Students' Council were instructed to send a message of regret and hope for Mrs. Fichandler's speedy recovery.

Many things contributed to the overwhelming success of the evening. The tables in the dining-room were beautifully decorated. A committee had worked on it all day and took care of the smallest details.

Saul Baroff, Secretary Baroff's son, added to the enjoyment of the evening by playing some violin solos. The evening ended with social dancing, with Sadie Becker furnishing the music.

For the festive appearance of the dining-room and the efficient service, recognition is due Mr. Avrutsky, Yania Feinstein, Rose Gonet, Rebecca Holland, Fannie Jockel, Abraham Kreiter, A. Kuhn, Wm. Lupa, Rose Margoli, Yetta Malofsky, Bernard Morgenstern, Jennie Pincus, I. Sassever, Arthur Walther, Esther Weinst,

(Continued on Page 11)

Weekly Calendar

WORKERS' UNIVERSITY Washington Irving High School Irving Place and 16th St.

Room 529

Saturday, April 12

1:30 p. m. J. H. H. Lyen—Social Forces in Contemporary Literature—The Modern Novel.

2:30 p. m. Paul W. Brissenden—Development of the Trade Agreement.

Sunday, April 13

10:30 a. m. A. W. Calhoun—Social Institutions—Review.

11:30 a. m. H. J. Carman—The Development of Modern Europe—Review.

UNITY CENTERS

Monday, April 14

Brownsville Unity Center—P. S. 150

Christopher Avenue and Sackman Street, Room 204

8:30 p. m. Sylvia Kopald—Economics and the Labor Movement—Review.

Tuesday, April 15

Bronx Unity Center—P. S. 61

Crotona Park East and Charlotte Street, Room 511

8:45 p. m. Sylvia Kopald—Economics and the Labor Movement—Review.

English is taught for beginners, intermediate and advanced students, Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday evenings.

EXTENSION DIVISION

ENGLISH

Thursday, April 17

Local 17—Reefer Makers' Educational Center

142 Second Avenue

6:30 to 8:00 p. m. Mr. Goldberg will instruct in the English language.

RUSSIAN

Friday, April 11

Russian-Polish Branch—315 E. 10th Street

8:00 p. m. P. A. Sorokin—Sociology of the Present Day Society.

ALL LECTURES IN ENGLISH UNLESS OTHERWISE INDICATED. ADMISSION FREE TO THE MEMBERS OF THE I. L. G. W. U.

Friday, April 11

Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman Street, Brooklyn

8:00 p. m. Rehearsal I. L. G. W. U. Chorus. Members of the International are invited.

The Week In Local 10

By SAM B. SHENKER

Manager Dubinsky received this week from J. Rubin, manager of the Protective Division of the Joint Board, an interesting report of the activities of this department for the spring season of the present year. The interesting phase of this report is that, out of a total of 188 manufacturing shops, which the report covers, there are 131 which employ 788 contractors. This phase of the report has been the cause for advancement by the International of its program for reconstructing the industry.

No doubt the arguments presented by Manager Dubinsky at the special meeting, at which the report was presented to the members for adoption, are fresh in the minds of the members.

The figures which Brother Rubin presents with regard to the number of contractors employed, show very plainly the keen competition which prevails in the industry. This competition is not only prevalent in the manufacturing end of the industry, but it also makes for competition among the workers. There are, for instance, 18 manufacturers who employ 312 contractors. To give the members an idea of this condition, below are cited the shops and the number of contractors they employ:

Shops	Contractors	Total
23 employing	1 each	33
14 "	2 "	32
16 "	4 "	92
7 "	6 "	42
6 "	7 "	42
17 "	8 "	136
11 "	9 "	99
1 "	11 "	11
1 "	12 "	12
2 "	13 "	26
2 "	15 "	30
8 "	16 "	128
3 "	25 "	75
1 "	30 "	30
131	—Total—	788

If there is any one argument for the great need of stabilizing the garment industry, this is it, as shown by the figures above. Under the present conditions, unlimited opportunity is afforded contractors for competition between one shop and another.

The report classifies the workers in their various crafts. Out of a total of 7,229 workers, in the 188 protective shops, there are employed 668 cutters:

Shops	Cutters	Total
47 which employ	1	47
46 "	2 "	92
23 "	3 "	99
16 "	4 "	64
14 "	5 "	70
8 "	6 "	48
6 "	7 "	35
4 "	8 "	32
2 "	9 "	27
3 "	10 "	30
2 "	12 "	24
5 "	13 "	39
1 "	15 "	15
1 "	23 "	22
1 "	24 "	24
187	—Total—	668

The average wage paid per cutter in the Association Houses, is \$55.63. This, of course, takes in those mechanics who are receiving from \$35.00 to \$50.00 per week and classified as follows:

Number of Cutters	Receiving
15	\$44
10	45
4	47
2	48
130	50
24	52
10	53
553	55
3	58
23	60

Brother Rubin also gives a list of 3 independent shops controlled by his department, which employ 61 cutters. Taking these together with the total of 668 cutters employed in the Protective houses, the grand total of the number of cutters, under the control of this department is 729. Two hundred and fifty six men in this category are receiving up to and including \$53.00 a week. The cutters who earn \$55.00 a week number 353. The balance, that is 120 cutters, receive \$58.00 to \$80.00 per week.

The report also gives a summary of the cases which were disagreed upon by the clerks and submitted to a Trial Board for decision. These cases date from May, 1919. Out of the seventeen workers who were charged with incompetency, which cases were tried before judges, there were two cutters. One case was decided in favor of the union and one in favor of the association. There were six cases of "soldiering on the job" tried before the Trial Board. No cutters were involved. Twelve cases of misconduct were tried and only one concerned a cutter, which was decided in favor of the association. One cutter's case with respect to payment below the minimum scale was tried before the Trial Board, and was decided in favor of the Union. There were a number of cases of workers absenting themselves from the shop on account of illness and without permission of the firm. None of these concerned cutters. Nine cases of reduction of wages also did not concern cutters.

There were three cases of refusal to pay cutters for New Year's day filed with the Association. One of these cases was filed sometime in 1919, and up to 1924 none were filed. When on New Year's day in 1924 Manager Dubinsky looked into this matter, he concluded that, under the provisions of the agreement, cutters should be paid for New Year's day in cases where the employer closed his factory. He, therefore, in January of the present year, filed two complaints which were decided in favor of the Union. These two cases made for the proper precedent on which Dubinsky based his claim for pay in other Association and Independent shops.

As was reported in these columns last week a conference was going on with the Protective Association last Monday night, March 21, while the members were discussing and voting on the program adopted by the General Executive Board. The demands submitted by the Union to the manufacturers were practically the same as those which were submitted to the Jobbers' Association. Points 1, 2, 3 and 4, which relate to the establishment of the 40-hour week, if limitation of the number of contractors to whom jobbers may send work, the right of the Union to examine all books, and an increase in the minimum scales—apply to employers who conduct manufacturing establishments. The remaining proposals hold good for all classes of employers whether they are manufacturers or jobbers.

In the statement of the Union, mention was made of the fact that the present agreement proved unworkable in some minor points and was unfair to the workers on others. The Union therefore stated that it will reserve to itself the right to propose amendments.

The position of the Union was stated by International President Morris Sigman and the attorney for the Union, Morris Hillquit. William Klein, counsel for the Protective Association, reading from a typewritten statement, laid the blame for the present ills of the industry to the Union.

"His remarks," states the report of the conference in JUSTICE for last week, "drew a retort from Morris Hillquit, who regretted the school-maester and undignified tone of Mr. Klein's remarks and asked the Association to drop this undignified manner unless they wished the Union to discontinue negotiations from the start. President Sigman followed Mr. Hillquit, expressing surprise that the Union was accused by Mr. Klein of being the creator of the sub-manufacturing shop. 'But, said he, 'we are not here tonight to go into details concerning where the fault lies. We ask you gentlemen to remember that whatever standards of decency there are in the industry, are due to the Union and to the Union alone.'"

Manager Dubinsky was occupied a great deal during the week with a meeting of the General Executive Board, which he is attending as one of the vice-presidents. This meeting of the International's executives is very important as it is making the final arrangements for the Convention and preparing the work which will be taken up in Boston by the Convention.

At the same time Dubinsky is preparing to take up important trade questions at the coming meeting of the membership. This meeting was declared by the local's executive board to be a special one for that purpose and it is to be held on Monday, April 14, at Arlington Hall, 23 St. Mark's place.

There need not be a question in the minds of the members as to the importance of this meeting. The fact alone that it is only two weeks before the meeting of the delegates, suffices to make a report and discussion on trade questions important.

The cutters who go into business and retain their membership learn very often that, no matter how they contrive to keep their business affiliations from the knowledge of the Union, the Union finds more than one way in having them expelled for this reason.

Dubinsky had received a number of complaints that Max Berger, who, according to the records, was employed by the Ellen Dress Company, was a member of this firm. An investigation of the co-partnership papers filed in the Hall of Records did not disclose Berger's name as one of the partners.

The shop was investigated very often, but no evidence could be secured until recently. It was during the

course of a visit by a committee to investigate as to whether one of the firm is doing cutting that the boss was found so engaged. When the business agent who controls this shop appeared with a clerk of the Association to take the complaint up, Berger testified that that was not the case. He stated that the boss could not cut as he did not know how. However, the business agent stated before the Executive Board when these charges were pressed against Berger, that the employer admitted to him that he did cut.

It is when cases of this nature arise in a shop that the Union secures ample proof of a cutter's affiliations with the firm. Not only did the cutter in this particular instance testify falsely before the clerk of the Association, but his behavior also was not becoming a member of the Union. Only one who is interested in the firm, would act as did Berger. The Executive Board ordered him to either return his working card and seek a new job or be expelled from the Union. Up to the present time Berger has remained in the shop. It will take a very short time before the Union will place a member to work and Berger will assume his duties as one of the owners of the shop.

Readers will recall the report contained here which made mention of the token of appreciation tendered to Meyer Skluth, who was chairman of the Tuxedo Cloak Company. The names of the committee who made the presentation were given. Among those, through an error, the name of Sam Rosen was given. Brother Sam Greenberg's name should have appeared instead. The correction is made accordingly.

COOPERATIVE BAKERY WINS FAME IN SYRACUSE

If you ever wander around Syracuse, New York, and get a hungry, gnawing feeling inside, take an hour off to visit the Purity Cooperative Bakery in that city. You'll find enough luscious white bread there to satisfy your hunger for many a month, but you'll find something to feed your brain as well.

The Purity Cooperative Bakery sets five standards for its product: first, purity; second, wholesomeness; third, cheapness. Everybody who visits this cooperative bakery says it has won the banner on the first count. All the bread is made in a handsome model building, kept scrupulously clean. The bakers are required to use the shower baths before going to work each day. The cooperative takes first prize on the second count, too, for it has the reputation of producing the best bread in town, every loaf bearing the Union label. During the War the Purity Cooperative Bakery was even prosecuted for using too much flour in its bread.

CUTTERS' UNION, LOCAL 10

NOTICE OF MEETINGS

SPECIAL MEETING Monday, April 14th
Important Report on Trade Questions.

MISCELLANEOUS MEETING Monday, April 21st

REGULAR MEETING Monday, April 28th

Meetings Begin at 7:30 P. M.

AT ARLINGTON HALL, 23 St. Mark's Place